1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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The President has more direct control over the man who is employed by the village to regulate the flow of water to the village vegetable gardens. He is able to arrange matters so that a fair share of water is given to, or withheld from, a Sarakatsan family.

For a number of purposes the Sarakatsani require the signature of the President on forms, certificates, or passes. He may be able to cause considerable trouble to a shepherd through delay, or by finding technical irregularities in his documents. These powers of the President are particularly feared. Although some of the leaders of co-operating 'companies' of families are extremely able and alert men, the ordinary Sarakatsan head of family is completely bewildered by documents, printed forms, and regulations, most of which are written in an official language which he only half comprehends. A Sarakatsanos with a large family and only 60 sheep lost six of his animals through disease in the summer of 1955. He came to the village office to ask the President to sign a form for a loan from the Agricultural Bank to replace the dead animals. At the time he was in considerable difficulties, his family was short of flour, and on account of his poverty, small flock, and deep indebtedness, his cheese merchant would make no further advances of credit. There was no doubt about the authenticity of his claim. The agricultural guard had made a report that the animals belonged to this man and that they had the unmistakable symptoms of liver fluke. After ignoring the man's presence in the office for about three-quarters of an hour, the President suddenly pointed to one of the many conditional clauses in the regulations printed in small type. 'You understand that yours is a difficult case. It is only five days since you arrived here from the plains and this clause says that confirmation of the details of the case must be signed by the President of the village where the disease was contracted. Obviously they became sick in the plains or on the road; anyway, not here. Perhaps you must return to Philippiada to have this signed. However, I shall write to the Ministry of Agriculture in Jannina and we shall see.' The man haltingly explained his difficulties, referring to the plight of his family. The President spread his hands and smiled benignly, 'You know that I always try to help you tent-dwellers (σκηνίτες) but in this case,' putting his thumb on the offending clause, 'what

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

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of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

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The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first place, a capital outlay of some £85 for the equipment, of which the most expensive item is the cream separator. Working capital for a spring station includes the wages of the cheese-maker and his assistant at 12*s.* 6*d.* and 6*s.* 3*d.* a day respectively, the cost of their food, and large quantities of salt for treating the cheeses. Altogether it amounts to about £125. The normal advances on the milk represent between one-third and one-half of its value and involve the issuing of credits for some £500. Working capital and the money for these credits is borrowed by the merchant from banks and private individuals. The bigger merchants store a substantial part of the cheese and butter which they make in the spring and summer and bring it forward on the metropolitan market in the later months of the year when milk products are scarcer and their prices higher. The money which is borrowed to give the August milk advances to the shepherds is secured against the cheeses in store. But the rate of interest on all these loans is unlikely to be much less than 10 per cent. In general, a merchant expects to make a gross profit of about 3*d.*–4½*d.* on every 'oke' of milk which he handles. Since the pastoralist receives about 1*s.* 1½*d.* for every 'oke' of milk which he sells, it cannot be said that he suffers from an outrageous exploitation. This is not the result of the merchant's benevolence. He is caught between two limits, the highest price which consumers in distant places can be persuaded to pay for milk products and the marginal price to shepherds which will just make it possible for them to live and maintain their flocks. For if the flocks vanish, so will the cheese merchants. The margin between these two limits is not wide. The prosperity of the individual merchant depends on his cornering a very substantial supply of milk and aiding the shepherds who sell it to him to maintain that level of production or even increase it. By the extension of interest-free credits, which in fact are seldom entirely repaid, he binds the interests of the shepherd to his own and assists him to maintain his way of life in the face of increasing difficulties. But the extension of credit also enables the Sarakatsanos to assume a style of life which goes beyond the absolute needs of subsistence. The Sarakatsanos has achieved this at the expense of the merchant but also at the cost of binding himself even more firmly to the merchant's will. That it pays a merchant of the stature of 'X' cannot be doubted. By

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S G 439 57 G 441

The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his merchant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambivalent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ καλοκάψιμό του), that is, he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S 439 434 S [426] S [511]

Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd with the means to survive years when natural or political difficulties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

S G 426 439 571 S G [556]

The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and particularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the relationship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of credit and political support when his grazing rights are threatened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social prestige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships. They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

6. CONCLUSION

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It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of

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[1.363]

APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954–5

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This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were [238]
ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were [162]
14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) [804]
and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound [436]
sterling approx.).

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

[651]

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.

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[662]

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Income	*Drachmas*
190 ewes produced for sale on average 23½ okes of milk per head at 4½ Dr. in the winter and spring	20,092
190 ewes produced for sale on average 7½ okes of milk per head at 5 Dr. in the summer	7,125
Sale of 173 okes of wool (60 okes were kept for the use of the family), at 26 Dr.	4,498
Sale of 78 male lambs at an average price of 120 Dr. per beast	9,360
Total	41,075

This was a fairly satisfactory year for the family. But it has to be taken into consideration that they have a debt of 5,000 Dr. to their winter cheese merchant and a loan of 7,000 Dr. from the Agricultural Bank as well as smaller amounts of debt in two shops.

/120 cont./

105 182 177 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime (fig. 44)[A], which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 401 182 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 182 511 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their [191] chief. Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28) in the highest degree.

28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

105 182 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

[A] /Pl.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

S V 291 We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He S V 191 V [194] recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

S 186 When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the S V 584 Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

S V 511 434 233 [433] Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

Winter and summer pasture	49,000
Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)	30,000
Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)	6,000
Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk)	1,000
Travel expense of head shepherd	7,000
	93,000

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows: